1;Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
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tively whence the Abipones formerly came, I will at any rate tell you where they now inhabit. That vast extent of country bounded from north to south by the Rio Grande, or Iñat^a. and the territories of Sta. Fè, and from east to west by the shores of the Paraguay, and the country of St. Iago, is the residence of the Abipones, who are distributed into various hordes. Impatient of agriculture and a fixed home, they are continually moving from place to place. The opportunity of water and provisions at one time, and the necessity of avoiding the approach of the enemy at another, obliges them to be constantly on the move. The Abipones imitate skilful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asumpcion with murders and rapine, and then hurry back again to the south. If they have acted hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of St. Iago or Cordoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and reedy places of the river Parana. For the Spaniards, however desirous, are not able to return the injuries of the savages, from the difficulty of the

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roads, or their want of acquaintance with them. It sometimes happens that a lake or marsh, which the Abipones swim with ease, obliges the Spanish cavalry to abandon the pursuit.

The whole territory of the Abipones scarcely contains a place which has not received a name from some memorable event or peculiarity of that neighbourhood. It may be proper to mention some of the most famous of these places; viz. *Netagrandc Lpátage*, the bird's nest; for in this place birds resembling storks yearly build their nests. *Liquintánala*, the cross, which was formerly fixed here by the Spaniards. *Nihirenac Lccnerctquiè*, the cave of the tiger. *Paët Latetà*, the bruised tents. *Atopehènta Lauuté*, the haunt of capibaris. *Lareca Caëpa*, the high trees. *Lalegraicavalca*, the little white things. Hail of enormous size once fell in this place, and killed vast numbers of cattle. Many other places are named from the rivers that flow past them. The most considerable are the Evòrayè, the Parana, or Paraguay, the Iñatè, the Rio Grande, or Vermejo, the Ychimaye, or Rio Rey, the Neboquelatèl, or mother of palms, called by the Spaniards Malabrigo, the Narahage, or Inespin, the Lachaoquè Nâuè, Ycalc, Ycham, &c. the Rio Negro, Verde, Salado, &c.

In the sixtieth year of the present century, many families of Abipones removed, some to the

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ABOUT night-fall an Abiponian boy brought an iron bridle, an axe, and some other trifles, the treasures of his family, to be guarded in my house. On being asked the reason of his doing so, he replied that the enemies would arrive in the night; for so it had been predicted by his mother, a famous juggler, who declared that whenever the enemy was approaching, she felt a pricking sensation in her left arm. "Oh!" replied I, "you may attribute that to the fleas, my good lad. I can tell you this on my own experience. Day and night I feel my left and my right arm too, as well as other parts of my body, insolently pricked and stung by fleas. If that were an indication of the enemy, we should never be free from their attacks night or day." But my words were vain; for the report of the old woman's presage got abroad, and disturbed the whole town all night. Yet, as often happened, no sign or vestige of the enemy appeared.

The Abipones, whom the desire of booty or glory induces to be constantly scheming war against others, are, in consequence, never free from suspicions of machinations against themselves. The more ardently they desire to take measures for their safety, the more readily do they believe themselves in danger from others, and generally for some foolish reason.

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181 A light rumour, smoke seen from a distance,
●649 strange foot-marks, or the unseasonable barking of dogs, fills them with suspicions that their lives are in danger from the enemy, especially when they dread their vengeance for slaughters which themselves have lately committed. The
756 task of tranquillizing and preparing their minds
787 devolves upon the jugglers, who, whenever any thing is to be feared, or any thing to be done, consult the evil spirit. About the beginning of the night a company of old women assemble in a huge tent. The mistress of the band, an old woman remarkable for wrinkles and grey hairs, strikes every now and then two large discordant drums, at intervals of four sounds, and whilst these instruments return a horrible bellowing, she, with a harsh voice, mutters kinds of songs, like a person mourning. The
[533] surrounding women, with their hair dishevelled and their breasts bare, rattle gourds, and loudly chaunt funeral verses, which are accompanied by a continual motion of the feet, and tossing about of the arms. But this infernal music is rendered still more insupportable by other performers, who keep constantly beating pans which are covered with deers' skin, and sound very acutely, with a stick. In this manner the night is passed. At day-break all flock to the old woman's tent, as to a Delphic oracle. The singers receive little presents, and

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standing, used many arguments to convince me that he had with his own eyes beheld the spirit of an Indian woman, whose husband was then living in our town. Spaniards also, who have lived from boyhood in captivity amongst the Abipones, are quite persuaded that the shades of the dead become visible at the call of a necromancer, that they reply to questions, and that there is no deceit used in the business. But what sensible man would credit such witnesses, who are in the daily habit of deceiving and being deceived?

But from this custom of the savages of calling up the shades of the dead, we may deduce that they believe in the immortality of the soul, as may also be collected both from their rites and conversation. They place a pot, a garment, arms, and horses, fastened on stakes upon graves, that the dead may not be in want of the daily necessaries of life. They have an idea, that those little ducks, which the Abipones call *ruililiè*, and which fly about in flocks at night, uttering a mournful hiss, are the souls of the departed. The Spaniard Raphael de los Rios, who superintended the estate belonging to the town of St. Jeronymo, was cruelly murdered in his tent, in an assault of the savages, whilst I resided there. Some months after, an Abiponian catechumen came and anxiously enquired

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101 nation, and used a separate language. In the
619 last century, the Spaniards, whom they had gone out to slaughter, surprized them by the way, and almost destroyed them all. A few who survived the massacre, with the widows and children of the slain, joined the neighbouring Abipones, and both nations, by inter-marriages, coalesced into one; the old language of the Yaaucanigas[1] falling into disuse. The Abi-
619 ponian tribes pursue the same manner of life, and their customs and language, with the exception of a few words, are alike. Wondrous
[648] unanimity, and a constant alliance in arms, reigned amongst them as long as they had to deal with the Spaniards, against whom, as against a mutual foe, they bear an innate hatred, and whose servitude they resist with united strength. But though bound by the ties of consanguinity and friendship, impatient of the
[598] smallest injury, they eagerly seize on any occasion of war, and frequently weaken each other with mutual slaughter.

595 Like the other American savages, some of the
586 Abipones practise polygamy and divorce. Yet they are by no means numerous; the whole
161 nation consisting of no more than five thousand people. Intestine skirmishes, excursions against the enemy, the deadly contagion of the

[1] [i.e., the YAAUCANIGAS, a group of Abipon. – ANALYST]

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attendance as is usual with other nations. They invest him neither with the authority of a judge, an arbitrator, or an avenger. Drunken men frequently kill one another; women quarrel, and often imbrue their hands in one another's blood; young men, fond of glory or booty, rob the Spaniards, to whom they had promised peace, of whole droves of horses, and sometimes secretly slay them: and the cacique, though aware of all these things, dares not say a word. If he were but to rebuke them for these transgressions, which are reckoned amongst the merits, virtues, and victories of the savages, with a single harsh word, he would be punished in the next drinking-party with the fists of the intoxicated savages, and publicly loaded with insults, as a friend to the Spaniards, and a greater lover of ease than of his people. How often have Ychamenraikin, chief cacique of the Riikahes, and Narè, of the Yaaucanigas, experienced this! How often have they returned from a drinking-party with swelled eyes, bruised hands, pale cheeks, and faces exhibiting all the colours of the rainbow!

But although the Abipones neither fear their cacique as a judge, nor honour him as a master, yet his fellow-soldiers follow him as a leader and governour of the war, whenever the enemy is to be attacked or repelled. Some, however,

1 Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
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A 431 555 622 crowds of soldiers in their service, because they were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity in depredation; the same men, when decrepit with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking excursions, and consequently poor, found none but relations continue in their hordes.

A 562 622 I must not omit to mention that the Abipones do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth; for at the time that I resided in Paraguay, there was a high-born matron, to whom the Abipones gave the title of *Nelaſeycatè*, and who numbered some families in her horde. Her origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured her the veneration of others. The Catholic kings themselves, and their governours, acknowledge the rank of the caciques of every nation, and dignify them with the title of nobility, prefixing the word *Don* to their names, according to the Spanish fashion. It is also customary, throughout the whole of Spanish America, for the Indian caciques, after they have received baptism, and sworn allegiance to the Catholic king, to retain, and transmit to their posterity the dominion they possessed when savage, over the savages subject to their power: which is also observed amongst the Guaranies, with this provision, however, that the caciques themselves and the Indians under their authority, are obliged to

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GUARANI SM4

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obey the corregidor, and other magistrates of the town. In every Guarany town, there are a number of caciques, who, if men of abilities, are often promoted to the office of magistrates, that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility. There were five caciques in the town of St. Joachim, over which I presided. Their names were Don Ignatius Paranderi, Don Miguel Yeyù, Don Marco Quirakerà, Don Joseph Xavier, and Don Miguel Yazukà; which last performed the office of corregidor for many years. Though a native of the woods, he was both exceedingly attached to Christian discipline, and intrepid in guarding it; indeed he was above all praise; which is certainly very uncommon and wonderful, as, to say the truth, we have often found the caciques more stupid than the common people, and less skilful in the public employments of the town. Who, therefore, can blame the Abipones, if, setting aside the privilege of birth, they elect a cacique, who, though of obscure origin, is distinguished for military valour?

A 622

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the Abipones are bathed in sweat, the otters' skins, from not being dressed, exhale, I confess, a by no means balsamic odour. On coldish nights they are used for counterpanes. These skins and cloaks, when worn by use, generally serve to wrap and cover infants, and, when they have no linen in the house, to bind up wounds.

In former ages the Americans preferred nakedness to clothing so greatly, that they refused or threw away the garments offered them by the Europeans. Now, however, the ardour with which the Paraguayrian Indians seek fine dresses exceeds belief. Give them a handsome hat, some pieces of red linen or cloth, or a string of glass-beads, and they will pay you the profoundest homage and obedience. Day and night did the Abipones pester us with the following petition: Give me a dress, father! *Pay! Tachcauĕ hihilalk*, or *aapaĩaik*. There is no surer method of gaining the hearts of the Indians than giving them clothes. No American colony will abound in Christian inhabitants, unless it also abound in sheep and oxen; the wool of the former being necessary to clothe, and the flesh of the latter to feed the bodies of the Indians. If both or either of these articles be wanting, they will return to their

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721 I do not deny that the Abipones have been
648 savage, inhuman, and ferocious, but only against those whom they believed to be their enemies. Before peace was established, they afflicted all Paraguay, for many years, with fire, slaughter, and rapine; but this they looked upon as the privilege of war, and indeed a thing to be gloried in, because they always found or suspected the Spaniards their enemies. They thought they were only repelling force by force, and returning injuries for injuries, slaughters for slaughters; which they deny to be wrong or dishonourable; seeing the same so frequently done, in time of war, by the Spaniards to the Portugueze, and by the Portugueze to the Spaniards. Led by their example, they insisted upon it that they should not be called assassins, and thieves, but soldiers, whose duty it is to offend their adversaries, and defend themselves and their possessions to the utmost of their power.
[727] The heads of the Spaniards severed from their shoulders, they called their trophies, and preserved as testimonials of their valour. The innumerable herds of cattle, the thousands of horses, in short whatever they took from the Spaniards, they called booty justly obtained in war. They always disown the name of robbers, in the plea that all the cattle of the Spaniards, by right, belongs to them; because, born on lands which

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
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the Spaniards forcibly wrested from their ancestors, and which, in their opinion, they at this day unjustly usurp. To eradicate these errors, we all ardently strove to instil into their ferocious minds an affection and friendship for the Spaniards; but our efforts were not crowned with success. Although they burnt with hereditary hatred to the Spaniards, yet, in their very manner of killing them, they displayed a sort of humanity. They inflicted death, but thought it unworthy of them, after the mortal blow, to torture, excruciate, tear, and mangle them, like other savages; though they were wonderfully solicitous about cutting off their heads, by displaying which they thought to testify their valour to their countrymen at home. They generally spared the unwarlike, and carried away innocent boys and girls unhurt. They used to feed infants, torn from their mothers' breasts, with the juice of fruits and herbs, during a long journey, and carried them home uninjured. If ever mothers, or their children, were slain, it was done by youths thirsting for the blood of the Spaniards, or by grown men enraged at the deaths of their countrymen whom the Spaniards had slain.

The Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, or Mulattoes, taken by them in war, they do not ill-use like captives, but treat with kindness, and in-

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701 could belong to, clearly discovered that a short
727 time previous, four Spaniards had been slain in that place, and that the perpetrator of the murder was a Spaniard, a captive, and leader of the Abipones, and more formidable to the Spanish nation than any Abipon. Many things
701 worthy of relation will occur respecting this
721 base crew, respecting Almaràz, Casco, Juanico, a Negro of Corrientes, Juan Joseph, an Ytatingua Indian, and above all, respecting Juan Diaz Caëperlahachin. This last, an Abipon by origin, had been taken in war by the Spaniards, when a boy, and afterwards converted to their religion. During twenty years which he spent in the town of St. Iago, in the service of the Spaniard Juan Diaz Caëperlahachin, he evinced much probity, and even piety. Every year, in the last week of Lent, did he publicly mangle his back with a bloody scourge; but after having effected his escape, and got back to his countrymen, he became the scourge of the Spaniards, and shedding torrents of their blood, obtained a high renown amongst his own people, to whom his knowledge of roads and places rendered him eminently useful; for, in expeditions having the slaughter of the Spaniards for their object, no man discharged the
● 648 offices of scout and leader more gloriously or more willingly than he. Peace being subse-

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822

*648 along with many others. Of what death, or in what place Caëperlahachin died, I am still ignorant.

727 The liberty of wandering at will, the abundant supply of food and clothing, the multitude of horses, the power of being as idle and profligate as they chose, and the completest impunity, where neither law nor censure is to be apprehended, bind the Spanish captives to the Abipones with so sweet a chain, that they prefer their captivity to freedom, forgetful of their relations and their country, where they know that they must live in obedience to the laws, and labour daily, unless they choose to endure stripes and hunger. I have known captives of so bad a disposition that their masters were glad to get rid of them without ransom. In many of the captives you would look in vain for the least trace of a Christian, or [595] even of a man. Very few of the Abipones have many wives at a time, though they account polygamy lawful; the captives, seldom content with one, marry as many Spanish or Indian 582 captives as they can. For the Abiponian wo- 186 men scorn to marry either Spaniards, or In- 727 dians of any other nation, unless, by the splen- [565] dour of their achievements, namely, slaughters and rapine, they be reputed Abipones in nobility. The men too, accounting themselves

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quently established with the Spaniards, and the colony of Concepcion founded for the Abipones, this man, who was acquainted with many languages, performed the part of interpreter there; abusing which office to his own purposes, he left no stone unturned to render the friendship of the Spaniards suspicious, the religion of Christ, and us, the teachers of that religion, odious to the Abiponian catechumens. Feigning, however, piety and friendship, this crafty knave succeeded in gaining an excellent character amongst the credulous Spaniards and Abipones, though dangerous to both, and perfectly intolerable to us who governed the colony. But lo! the pestilent son had a still more pestilent mother. This woman, the chief of all the female jugglers, a hundred years old, venerable to the people on account of her wrinkles, and formidable by reason of the magic arts she was thought to be acquainted with, never ceased exhorting her countrymen to shun and detest the church, our instruction, and baptism, even when administered to dying infants. Behold! a mother worthy of her son —a bad egg of a bad crow! But the vengeance of God overtook this accursed old woman. Flying from the town, with a band of her hordesmen, she was killed by the Mocobios,

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more noble than any other nation, never deign to marry the Spanish captives, much less to have any clandestine intercourse with them: so that their virtue would be safer in captivity amongst the savages, than in freedom amongst their own countrymen, could they escape the seductive arts of their fellow captives. In confession, I found most of the female Spaniards, after a very long captivity amongst the Abipones, guilty of no trespass upon the laws of chastity. They all agreed in confessing that no woman need go astray amongst these savages, unless she herself chose it. I can say as much for the continence of the young men, who had been long captives amongst them.

The gentle reader will pardon this digression concerning captives, if indeed it be a digression, because it does much towards establishing a good opinion of the chastity and benevolence of the Abipones, which form the subject of the present chapter, and will be further confirmed by additional arguments. They hospitably entertain Spaniards of the lower order, Negroes or Christian Indians, who have run away from their masters, lost their way, or, by some other means, chanced to enter the hordes of the Abipones, and, in the most friendly manner, offer them food or any thing else they may stand in need of; this they do the more cordially the

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[574] 648 more liberally these strangers abuse the Spanish nation; but if they neglect this they are taken for spies, and undergo considerable danger. They diligently watched over the safety of us Jesuits, to whom was committed the management of the colonies. If they were aware of any danger impending over us from foreign foes, they acquainted us with it immediately, and were all intent upon warding it from us. In journies, when rivers were to be crossed, the horses got ready, sudden and secret attacks of the enemy to be avoided or repelled, it is incredible how anxiously they offered us their assistance. See! what mild, benevolent souls these [648] 674 savages possess! Though they used to rob and murder the Spaniards whilst they thought them their enemies, yet they never take anything from their own countrymen. Hence, as long as they are sober, and in possession of their senses, homicide and theft are almost unheard of amongst them. They are often and long absent from their homes, during which time they leave their little property without a guard, or even a door, exposed to the eyes and hands of all, with no apprehension of the loss of it, and on their return from a long journey, find every thing untouched. The doors, locks, bars, 674 chests, and guards with which Europeans defend their possessions from thieves, are things

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That they may be able with the more certainty to.

keep their appointment, they imitate the voice of some bird or beast, as agreed upon beforehand, from which one may know and discover the other. But this artifice must be warily adopted; for if at night-time they imitate the note of a bird which is only heard by day, the Spaniards know it to be uttered by the scouts of the savages, and by timely cautions elude the hostile attack. Often one companion signifies to another that he has arrived beforehand by broken boughs of trees, or high grass knotted in various ways. None perform the office of spy with more success than those Abipones who in their childhood have been taken in war, and bred up by the Spaniards, and who have returned to their countrymen when grown up; for, besides that they are actuated by a stronger hatred to the Spaniards, and a keener thirst for vengeance, from their acquaintance with places, and with the Spanish tongue, they dwell for a time with impunity in the Spanish towns, and as they use the same dress and language, are universally taken for Spaniards. Secure by this artifice, even in mid-day, and in the public market-place, they survey every thing, and enquire about whatever it is their interest to know; learn what military men are absent, or preparing for departure; what waggons are laden with

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648 726 merchandise, and whither they are bound, so that they are afterwards easily plundered by the savages in those immense deserts; not one of the waggoners or guards being able to prevent the slaughter, as men of this description are in general but ill provided with arms, and still worse with courage.

273 726 The scouts, after having finished their journey and made an accurate report to their employers of all they have seen and heard, a council of war, and at the same time a drinking-party is appointed; for the Abipones think themselves ill fitted for deliberation with dry lips. The Cacique, the promoter of the expedition, in the course of the drinking, delivers his opinion on the affair, and enquires that of the rest. He animates his companions to carry on the thing with vigour, either by the example of their ancestors, or by the hope of glory or booty. Repeated draughts inflame both the bodies and minds of the drinkers: for the meed which they make of honey, or the alfaroba, immediately disorders the brain, like the strongest wine, an effect which is powerfully increased by the shouts of the intoxicated, by singing, and the noise of drums and gourds. The heroic deeds of their ancestors, and former victories, are generally the subjects of these savage songs. The spectacle is as ridiculous

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727 628 725 Whenever an Abipon dies by the hand of an enemy, the nearest relation of the deceased takes upon him to avenge his death. It is his business to invite his countrymen and hordesmen, or even the inhabitants of another horde, to join their arms with his, to lead them against the enemy, and, when the attack is made, to go first into battle. As they lend assistance to friendly nations, they seek it in turn from them, either when they are preparing for war, or when they apprehend it from others whom they deem themselves unequal to contend with alone. But, as Europe so often experiences, little confidence is to be placed in auxiliary forces. [572] The friendship of the Indians is notoriously fickle and unsteady; for, as they enter into alliance merely with a view to their own advan- [181] tage, they will suddenly turn their backs on their greatest friends, should the hope of the smallest emolument preponderate.

2: Metraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SI4 Abipon SI4

appears in the literature at the beginning of the 17th century. The *Mepene* lived somewhat to the south of the mouth of the Bermejo River in a region which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, was occupied by the *Abipón*. At that time the *Abipón* were not concerned with navigation, and nothing but a vague analogy in their respective names indicates a possible relationship between these two tribes. However, the name of one of the three *Abipón* subgroups, the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People), suggests that they may once have been canoe Indians and therefore identical with the *Mepene*. The *Yaaukanigá* were not originally an *Abipón* subtribe and even spoke a different language. It was only in the 17th century, after they had been defeated by the Spaniards, that the *Yaaukanigá* attached themselves to the *Abipón* and adopted their language.

The name *Callagaic* or *Callagá*, given to the *Abipón* by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, had no connection with the name *Gulgaissen*, which designated a tribe more to the south.

History of the Abipón.—The original habitat of the *Abipón* was along the northern banks of the lower Bermejo River. Their expansion toward the south began in the 17th century after they had acquired the horse either from Spanish ranchers or from the *Calchaquí*. The *Abipón* first attacked the *Matará*, whom they obliged to migrate from the Bermejo River toward the Province of Santiago del Estero. According to Lozano (1941, p. 97), they helped the *Calchaquí*[1] when the latter, who had been deported or had migrated from the Calchaquí Valley (Salta), arose to regain their liberty. In the beginning of the 18th century, the *Abipón* fought against the same *Calchaquí*, who had settled north of Santa Fé, until the smallpox epidemic of 1718 almost wiped them out. Then the *Abipón*, no longer hampered by their rivals, turned against the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé.

In the first half of the 18th century, the *Abipón*, together with *Mocoví* and *Toba*, ranged over a vast area bounded on the north by the middle and lower course of the Bermejo River, on the east by the Paraná River, on the south by the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé and on the west by those of Córdoba and Santiago del Estero. Here the *Abipón* were continually moving from place to place. Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:4) writes, "The Abipones imitate skilful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asunción with murders and rapine, and then hurry back to the south. If they have committed hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of Santiago or Córdoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and ready places of the river Paraná." In 1751, a party of *Abipón* entered the city of Santa Fé, killing and looting.

[1] In 1685 Alonso de Mercado y Villacorta deported the Indians of the Calchaquí Valley to Buenos Aires. Lozano (1941, p. 96) states that these *Calchaquí* were different from those who lived on "encomiendas" in the region of the Bermejo River. According to Del Techo and Lozano, *Calchaquí* had migrated into the Chaco to escape the oppression of the Spaniards. These refugees may have been those who rose against the Spaniards and formed an independent tribe north of Santa Fé about 1640. Two groups of *Calchaquí* near Santa Fé were the *Tocoyo* and the *Colastiné*.

2: Metraux E-4 (no date) 1946 S14 Abipon S14

The first missionaries to visit the *Abipón* were the Jesuit Fathers Juan Fonte and Francisco de Angulo, who in 1501 baptised the children in the bands living near Concepción on the Bermejo River. In 1588 Fathers Alonso de Bárzana and Pedro de Añasco were sent to convert the *Mocoví* and the *Gualcurúan* tribes of the same region. Their missionary work lasted only 2 years and produced few results. However, Bárzana found time to write a grammar and a vocabulary of the *Abipón* language. In 1641 Fathers Juan Pastor and Gaspar Arqueyra made a brief sojourn among the *Abipón* of the Bermejo River.

The example of the *Mocoví* who had accepted Jesuit missionaries facilitated the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Spaniards and some of the *Abipón* bands. In 1748 the Jesuits founded the *Abipón* mission of San Jerónimo, which today is the prosperous city of Reconquista. The mission of Concepción was established in 1749 on the Inespín River and was later transferred to the junction of the Río Dulce with the Río Salado. San Fernando was built in 1750 on the Río Negro at the place of the present city of Resistencia. Timbó, or Rosario, on the Paraguay River (lat. 26°22' S., long. 58°17' W.), was inaugurated in 1762. The missionized *Abipón* were constantly harassed by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*.

The history of the *Abipón* after the expulsion of the Jesuits is somewhat confused. For many years they waged war against the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, who destroyed the missions of San Fernando and Timbó. In 1770 the *Abipón* of San Jerónimo and some other bands migrated to the eastern side of the Paraná River, at Las Garzas and Goya, to escape the inroads of the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Some of the *Abipón* who had settled on the left bank of the Paraná River joined bands of marauders who were raiding the farms around Corrientes, Goya, and Vajada. *Abipón* warriors served under the famous leader, Artigas.

Little is known about the fate of the *Abipón* bands who even before the expulsion of the Jesuits had returned to the bush. Some of them tried to settle on their former territory on the Bermejo River, which had been occupied by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Dobrizhoffer (1835, p. 343) speaks of constant skirmishes in which the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, and *Toba* fought Paraguayan outposts. But, in spite of the continuous warfare along the frontier, the *Abipón* used to visit Asunción to dispose of the cattle stolen in the south. The advance of the military posts in the Chaco during the 19th century restricted their hunting grounds and made life more difficult for them, forcing numerous bands into submission. Many *Abipón* were slaughtered and others were absorbed into the Creole population. In 1856 there were still some *Abipón* in a reduction called Sauce, between Santa Fé and Córdoba (Lafone-Quevedo, 1896 d, p. 89). It is not altogether impossible that some more or less pureblooded *Abipón* may still be found in the Chaco santafecino.

Population of the Abipón.—About 1750 the *Abipón* tribe consisted of three large subgroups: The *Nakaipetarpahí* (Forest People), the *Riikahé* (People of the Open Country), and the *Yaukanigá* (Water People). According to Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:106), the whole tribe numbered about 5,000. The population decreased rapidly after contact with the Spaniards. In 1767 there were 2,000 *Abipón* distributed in the four Jesuit missions.

Mocoví (*Mocobí, Mocobíes, Mogoznas, Amókebit, Frentones*).—The original home of the *Mocoví* was probably the plains between the upper Bermejo River and the Río Salado, near the *Toba*, their close relatives and frequent allies.

In the 17th century they are frequently listed among the "wild Indians" who roamed along the borders of the Province of Tucumán. At the beginning of the